

enemy of any country threatening the independence of others, and the natural protector of the weaker communities. The only check on a powerful and aggressive State is the existence of an equally formidable rival or a league of defence. The equilibrium established by such a grouping of forces is technically known as the Balance of Power, and it has become almost an historical truism to identify England's policy with the maintenance of this balance by throwing her weight now in this scale and now in that, but ever on the side opposed to the dictatorship of the strongest single State or group at a given time. If this view of British policy is correct, our opposition to any country aspiring to such a dictatorship assumes almost the form of a law of nature.

Crowe, needless to say, had Germany in mind, and the larger part of the Memorandum is devoted to her history and ambitions. England, he declares, seeks no quarrels, and will never give her cause for legitimate offence. But can we be equally certain that she will never desire to destroy and supplant the British Empire? In such a matter we could run no risks. There was no thought whatever of hemming her in or clipping her wings. "It cannot be good policy for England to thwart such a process of development where it does not directly conflict either with British interests or with those of other nations to which England is bound by solemn treaty obligations. Nor was it our place to oppose Germany's building as large a fleet as she wished. Any attempt to dictate would stimulate her to fresh efforts. The best method was to show by ocular demonstration that for every German ship we should lay down two. The policy of graceful concessions, either to Germany or to any other Power, was a mistake. The opposition she met at Algeciras would probably make

her more careful to avoid fresh disagreements.
In this attitude
she will be encouraged if she meets on
England's part with
unvarying courtesy and consideration in all
matters of common
concern, but also with a prompt and firm refusal
to enter into
any one-sided bargains or arrangements, and
the most
unbending determination to uphold British
rights and inter-
ests in every quarter of the globe. There will be
no surer or
quicker way to win the respect of the German
Government
and the German nation."

These are the closing words of this
impressive Memorandum. We can imagine German readers
complaining that its
tone was rather self-righteous, and that in
his historical